

***Kandan*, a traditional oral genre of the Uut Danum of West Kalimantan**

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This paper provides an introduction to a little-studied oral genre of the Uut Danum of West Kalimantan, based on materials collected on the upper Melawi river, mainly in the Lekawai and Ambalau areas. *Kandan*, or *auh kandan* (literally “the *kandan* language”) is, along with *parung* and *tahtum*, one of three major sung genres practiced by the Uut Danum for entertaining and ritual purposes. While *parung* and *tahtum* are usually sung by men, *kandan* is an almost exclusively female discipline, with relatively few adult men mastering its language and vocabulary, and rare ones actually performing it. As a literary genre (*kandan kolimoi*), it constitutes a cycle of epic songs about the inhabitants of the sky, god-like beings distantly related to mankind. Its male counterpart is *tahtum*, the more well-known ancestral epic, which narrates the adventures of Bungai and Tambun and shares some of the *kandan kolimoi*’s heavenly characters, as well as a number of its themes and formulas. As a ritual genre, *kandan* may be used in a variety of contexts (weddings, secondary funerals, etc.) to sing prayers, invocations, or praise songs. In one given ritual occasion, the same invocation will typically be delivered – sometimes in turn or simultaneously – by men in *parung* and by women in *kandan*. *Parung* and *kandan* differ both by their melodic and linguistic styles, as do *tahtum* and *kandan kolimoi*, although *tahtum* and *parung* tap to some extent into the specific lexical register of *kandan*, which is more distant from everyday language (Dohoi) than they are.

Kandan features more prominently in shamanic rituals. It is used by female shamans (*jaja*’) to sing lengthy invocatory chants, either in a solo (*kandan* proper, locally called *totingan*) or choral singing mode (*timang*, with the main *jaja*’ as lead singer and one or several female responders, each verse being sung twice). Narrating a cosmic journey undergone by the patients’ souls, these chants are addressed to upperworld (and other) spirits (*songiang*), hence *kandan* is referred to in this context as the “*songiang*’s language” (*auh songiang*). During possession séances, when the *songiang* sing through the voices of possessed shamans, they also communicate in *kandan*, shifting occasionally to Dohoi to speak directly with members of the audience.

1. THE *KANDAN* “LANGUAGE”

The usual denomination of *kandan* as a “language” (*bahasa* or *auh*, which more generally means “word, voice”) reflects both the mythological representation of the upperworld spirits as a people whose language it is, and the comprehensiveness of its lexicon, which allows some women to sing or even speak freely in *kandan* in peculiar circumstances outside its proper context of use (i.e., to make jokes or asides in conversations). The same holds of *basa sangiang/sangen*, the close equivalent of *kandan* among the Ngaju, which is also used for

singing both ritual invocations and mythological narratives (Kuhnt-Saptodewo 1993, Schiller 2005). As noted by Aug. Hardeland in his Ngaju-German dictionary published in 1859, some Ngaju had a propensity for using the *Sangiang*'s language in ordinary verbal interactions (1859: 218, entry for *kambahan*; in particular the word *pangambahan*, “der immer in der Sang. Sprache zu andern spricht”). Many words of the common language, including people and place names, have their counterpart (*tomalik*, literally a “changed” word) in *kandan*. Some *tomalik* are single words, originating presumably mostly as either loanwords or archaisms. For instance:

belai : “all” (Dohoi *paring*)
dalah : “blood” (Dohoi *daha*’)
monyokéan : “to smear with blood” (Dohoi *nyahki*’)
mandui : “to bathe” (Dohoi *monus*)
mejow : “far” (Dohoi *macu*’)
lujan : “cooked rice” (Dohoi *bari*’)
monolujan : “to eat rice” (Dohoi *kuman bari*’)
tira’ : “not” (Dohoi *eam*)
topohelow : a kind of supernatural danger (Dohoi *pohunan*)
lihkek: nibung palm (Dohoi *divung*)

Many *tomalik* go by synonymic pairs, which occur in parallel segments of speech:

tisip/penu’ : “full” (Dohoi *tuvi*’ [*tuβi*’])
monyokiow/monyomava’ : “to call” (Dohoi *naah*)
munduk/ngate’ : “to sit” (Dohoi *tuot*)
telun/tali(n) : “thread, rope” (Dohoi *tali*’).

A large number of *tomalik* consist of groups of words, usually two or three of them. For instance:

matai pinang : “to chew betel” (Dohoi *nyihpa*’)
tambang lavah bulow : “leg” (Dohoi *paa*’)
lauk boleteng lahu’ : *dungan* fish
lauk nanduk pulang: “cow” (Dohoi *sahpi*’, literally “the animal with sword-horns”)
panow mu’ : “you.”

Such formulas also often form synonymic dyads:

sambang ajun tingang/luhing livew lunuk : “small shaman's drum” (*kotambung*)
liu’ likai langit/lupung palui bulow : “sun” (*mahtanondow*)
(bulow) jevai etang/(lupung) somenget samben : “life soul” (*morua*’)
bukai lunjan/levin keting : “slave” (*jihpon*).

Formulas may in turn be regularly combined with other terms to produce second-order formulas, or formulas of formulas, which, as we will see, provide the units of *kandan* prosody.

However extensive its repertory of *tomalik* and the number of ideas they allow to express, *kandan* is not a language of its own, at least not one expressing all the nuances of the common language. The range of its expressive possibilities is bound by the limits of the *kandan* corpus, both in respect to vocabulary (not all Dohoi words have a *tomalik*) and to the

morphologic/stylistic features of the genre.

Kandan relies on ordinary Dohoi language in different ways. First, many formulas partly, or even wholly, consist of (more or less) common words, used metaphorically or ornamentally. In the following examples, Dohoi words are written in italics (parentheses indicate that a word is optional in a formula).

motali’ (daven) *lahing* : “to smoke cigarettes” (Dohoi *moluhku*’)
to twine leaf nipah palm
(a rope)

liu’ *likai* (*langit*) : “sun” (Dohoi *mahtanondow*)
rainbow areca nut sky

karing nindan lambang : “house ladder” (Dohoi *honjan*)
ivory to lean on rectangular frame±
 “house”

bolingin tingang : “banyan” (Dohoi *lunuk*)
banyan hornbill

bulow jevai : “life-soul” (Dohoi *morua*’)
gold soul

purun *bulow* : “mat” (Dohoi *kahcang*)
cyperaceae sp. gold

Words such as *tingang* (hornbill), *bulow* (gold), *duhung* (ritual knife), *bulan* (moon), and other potent or mythologically significant words, are often used in an ornamental fashion. Here is a sample of formulas including the word *tingang*, in addition to those already mentioned (in some of them its presence may be motivated by the search for rhyme):

(*puhkang*) *jalin tingang* (*puhkang tendung tingang*) : “hand” (Dohoi *longo*’)
lendang koselan tingang : “oil” (Dohoi *koselan*)
tulah tingang, badi’ tingang : *tulah, badi’* (types of supernatural dangers)
pendam tingang : “fever” (Dohoi *pondam*)
behas nyangen tingang : “husked rice” (Dohoi *bojah*)
lunjan tingang: bolanga’ (type of heirloom jar)
sambang ajun tingang : *kotambung* (shaman's drum)
(*utang*) *kalung tingang* : chicken (Dohoi *manuk*)
tesak melang tingang : “roof” (Dohoi *sahpow*)
liang nyangen tingang : (house yard?)(*dohopan* ?)
kening tingang: “eyebrow” (Dohoi *bulun kolunuk*)
nyingan tingang : *kolatung* (type of gong)
tuhkang hanyang (tingang) : *sambon* (oblong carnelian stone)
suling lingun tingang : “flute” (Dohoi *suling*)
buhtah luinjan tingang: buhtah (type of basket)
topahtah lunjan tingang : *topahtah* (intermediary platform fronting the house door).

As with the Ngaju *Basa Sangiang* (Hardeland 1858: 4–5, see Fox 2005), some words have a somewhat different meaning than in everyday language:

<i>Kandan</i>	Dohoi	
nambang	go towards, intercept	to take, to lift (?)
kandan	an oral genre	word, to say
(mo)nyoreling	to twine around±	to move along
nasai	to dance <i>tasai</i>	to walk

Some words have a conventional meaning unrelated to their meaning in Dohoi, such as *bulan* (“moon”) and *lunuk* (“banyan”), used in some formulas to designate female and male characters respectively.

Again as in *Basa Sangiang*, some words slightly change in form while retaining their meaning:

<i>Kandan</i>	Dohoi	
(mo)nyohalow	nokalow	“to go past”
dalah	daha’	“blood”
kotau’	kotou’	“right”
monosekan	ngisok	“to ask”
ngoripeh	ngoripos	“to pack up”
epat	ohpat	“four”
pendam	pondam	“fever”
samben	sambon	“oblong carnelian stone”
tehkan	tahkan	“from”
(mo)nohime’	nohimo’	“to face”
koronain	ngonai’	“all day long”
(mo)nyolakah	ngolahka’	“to step over”

Some of these morphological changes involve the addition of prefixes such as *-mo(no)-*, *-horo-* (*-koro-*, *-ngoro-*, *-boro-*), which crop up in *kandan*. In many cases, the transformation may result from the influence of the Ngaju language (see below).

Second, while the lexical register of *kandan* is rich in original (non Dohoi) vocables for nouns and verbs, some classes of words whose function is as language auxiliaries (prepositions, conjunction, adverbs, pronouns) seem to be less represented. If the singer needs such words, she may turn to Dohoi. Among those frequently heard are pronouns and pronominal or possessive enclitics (e.g., 1stSG *ahku’* and *-ku’*, 2ndSG *ihko’* and *-mu’*).

“Nai tira’ panjang hunang (*K*)*AKU’* nihtih Lavang Bahen Duhung.”

INTJ not long (time) to hover± 1SG (to sing) place name
 “I do not wait any longer (in order) to besing the village/people of Lavang Bahen Duhung.”

A few *tomalik* designating pronouns do exist in *kandan*, however. One of them is *panow*, which is combined with possessive enclitics of everyday language to produce singular pronouns: *panow ku’* (“I”), *panow mu’* (“you”). I have not elicited the exact meaning of *panow*, but, like another term frequently met in the *parung* genre (*bakang*), it may be translated by “self, person.” Another is a formula which can be declined with different numerals to designate a group of persons: *situng due’* (*kulun*) (2 persons), *situng telu’* (*kulun*) (3 persons), *situng epat* (*kulun*) (4 persons). It is usually combined with Dohoi pronouns:

boro ' situng due' kulun : the two of you
doro ' situng due' kulun : the two of them
koro ' situng due' kulun : the two of us (exclusive)
ihito ' situng telu' kulun : the three of us (inclusive)
ihkam situng epat kulun : the four of you

Other “auxiliary” words of everyday Dohoi language which can be frequently heard in *kandan* include:

- *jo* ' : a relative pronoun and nominalizing particle (closely similar to Ind. *yang*)
- *ahkan* : “in order to”, “for” (prep.)
- *kono*i : “like this”
- *kavun* : “then”, etc.

However, the formulaic style of *kandan* seems to make prepositions, conjunctions and the like relatively dispensable. As a matter of fact, the borrowing of such words to Dohoi occurs to a greater extent in performances which involve some degree of improvisation – for instance, when spirits converse with the audience during possession séances – than in the more measured and standardized *timang* invocations. Often, these words appear redundant, or could be removed or replaced by a proper *kandan* term without affecting the meaning of the sentence in which they appear. In the following excerpt of a solo incantation sung during a *nyakai* ritual, the relative pronoun *jo* ' is used to introduce a verbal predicate.

“Horolusan lajung tavui *JO* ' mesew monyoreling telun hiting:”
 turus [male char. tavui] REL ngavus ngahasu' ± [talin hiting] * [...] : formulas
 “The spirit of scattered rice (who) keeps paddling following the (celestial) string.”

Such a construction, in which *jo* ' is used expressively to emphasize the subject, also occurs in common speech:

(Dohoi sentence) “*Umbot do' dalo', kavun do' jo' ngahtuh ngoruh:*”
 “After celebrating *dalo* ', they celebrated the wedding.”

Such sentences would have exactly the same meaning without *jo* '. Indeed, later in the same *nyakay* ritual, the above-mentioned sentence (sung by the same singer) appears again, this time in a *timang* invocation and without *jo* ':

“horolusan lajung tavui” (x 2)
 “mesew monyoreling telun hiting” (x 2).

The use of such Dohoi auxiliaries seems often inspired by the singer's need for variation, expression, or ornamentation, and as such appears to be ruled more by musical prosody than semantics. In the following sentence, taken from a *kandan kolimoi* narrative, the word *kono*i (Dohoi “like this”), occurring in a sequence of four-syllable segments, is useful to *fill* the meter.

“Sepai hapui komujui bandung do-monama' *KU* ' *RIH* sengiang tepu', *KONO*i
 umbot umbot± kohinut *[ahku' orih [songiang tepu'] konoi
 PFCT PFCT to put in order large boat 1SG this master like this
kandan bukai lunjan Tavai Lahing:”
 auh/hion [jihpon] river bank veget. nipah palm
 word/to say slave place name * [...] : formula

“I have finished loading the ship, my lord, said the slave (at) Tavai Lahing.”

In these metric conditions, other formulas could have been used by the singer to express the same idea, i.e., quoting words, without resorting to everyday language. One available formula is “*liak timang*”, which as “*kanoi kandan*” may be postposed to the reported speech:

“Muda’ etang saow sanang liak timang Meling Penyang:”

“May the soul be safe-and-happy, said Meling Penyang.”

Similarly, a range of meaningless particles (e.g., *ki*, *lu*, *do*) are available to the singer when she needs to even an odd number of syllables (e.g., *do-monama’* in the same example, which allows to obtain a group of four syllables).

On the contrary, a Dohoi word or group of words unrequired metrically (nor semantically) might come up in *unstressed* parts of the prosodic rhythm, with a function then similar to that of a musical ornament. This is what happens in the same example with “*ku’ rih*”, an abbreviated form of the locution “*ahku’ orih*” (Ind. “*saya ini*”), standing for the 1st person singular pronoun (“I, me”). The singer quickly utters these words between two stressed syllables in the course of her singing (stress is indicated by ′):

“...do-′mo-o-na-′ma′-ku′rih-se-′ngia-ang-te-′pu′-ko-′no-oi-kan-′dan...”

The rhythmic pattern of this singing passage, a dotted rhythm alternating a short unstressed and a long stressed syllable, would have one expect: “do-′mo-o-na-′ma-a′-se-′ngia...”

The addition of the agentive pronoun *ahku’* in this sentence is also superfluous from a semantic point of view. The context implicitly indicates that the action described by the verb *komujui*, i.e., loading the ship, is performed by the slave. It is also slightly odd grammatically, since the introduction of the agent in a passive construction like this one (indicated by the use of the infinitive form *komujui* instead of the active voice *ngomujui*) requires the undergoer voice, obtained by the infixation of the verb with *-on-*:

¥ *sepai hapui k-ON-omujui bandung do-monama’ ku’ rih*: “the ship has been loaded by me.”

(The form *konomujui*, or *konomucui*, is indeed attested.) All this indicates that the expression “*ku’ rih*”, so uttered as to be hardly audible in this sentence, is superimposed on the formulaic web of the singing in the manner of an appoggiatura.

2. KANDAN AND BASA SANGIANG

Before going further in the description of the *kandan* style, let us briefly address the question of the relationship between *kandan* and the Ngaju priestly language *Basa Sangiang*. The similarities between the two genres are unmistakable, yet difficult to ascribe to simple causes. The factors to be considered to elucidate the origins of these similarities should include the following:

- the genetic relations between the two mother languages, Dohoi and Ngaju, which are closely related branches of the Western Barito language group (Hudson 1967, see Inagaki 2008);
- the close similarities between the oral traditions of the Ngaju and Uut Danum people, in

regard to religion, mythology, ritual;

- the complex historical background of relationships between the two (groups of) people, the Dohoi speaking Uut Danum (Ot Danum) on the one hand, and the various Ngaju speaking groups of Central Kalimantan, on the other; in particular,

- the influence of Ngaju language on the Dohoi currently spoken in Central Kalimantan (see Inagaki 2008 on upper Kahayan Kadorih), but not on Melawi Dohoi due to its geographical remoteness;

- the influence of Ngaju on several aspects of Uut Danum culture (e.g., funerary architecture) in recent times (from the end of the 19th century), and the possible role of the Ngaju as intermediaries for the diffusion of Hindu–Javanese cultural traits among the Uut Danum, earlier on;

- conversely, the sharing by some upriver Ngaju groups of Uut Danum origin myths (Couderc 2012), and the acknowledgement by these groups that the Uut Danum are their cultural forebears (Avé 1972: 186);

- the putative existence of an “old-speech stratum” pertaining not only to Ngaju (Hardeland 1858, Dyen 1956), but to both Ngaju and Dohoi, from which, beyond processes of borrowing, a part of the lexical stock shared by the two genres would derive.

In this section, I merely illustrate some of these similarities, using as comparative sources Hardeland’s Ngaju-German dictionary (1859) and the texts published in the *Sangiang*’s language by Hardeland (1858), Hans Schärer (1966), and Sri Kuhnt-Saptodewo (1993), as well as Martin Baier’s (1987) compilation of *Basa Sangiang*’s terms. For Dohoi, I rely on my own materials, as well as on the wordlists of Karl Eppele (ms) and Kazuya Inagaki (2008).

<i>Kandan</i>	Dohoi	Ngaju	<i>Basa Sangiang</i>	
bangun/bongunan		bangunan	bangunan	building
bolingin	lunuk	baringen		banyan tree
ihkan	ohcin	lauk		fish
jali	iking		jari	finger
panjang	ombu’	panjang		long
penu’	tuvi’	kontep	penu	full

Table 1 : Malay loanwords

Like other ritual or sacred languages of Borneo and elsewhere in Indonesia (Hardeland 1858: 4, Metcalf 1989: 22, Sellato 1991: 125, Fox 2005: 90, Herrmans 2011: 48), *kandan* derives part of its lexicon from words loaned to neighbouring languages. Besides possible loans from upper Melawi languages (such as Serawai, which might have provided *ingan*, “word”), the bulk of *kandan*’s borrowing seems to be in direction of the Ngaju language, while another essential part of its corpus of words and formulas is *shared* with (and might thus also partly originate from) the Ngaju *Basa Sangiang*, itself considered by Hardeland (*ibid.*) and by the Ngaju (Schärer 1966: 7) as representing the Ngaju archaic language. A number of Malay words of Banjar or other origin have also probably entered *kandan* via Ngaju or *Basa Sangiang* (Table 1).

Table 2 presents a sample of *kandan* words of likely Ngaju origin, some of which also probably derive from Malay. Some of these words are also used in *Basa Sangiang* (e.g., *karing*, *banama*, *pinang*).

<i>Kandan</i>	Ngaju	Dohoi	
behas	behas	bojah	husked rice
bitang	bintang	potion	star
bulung	burung	ohcin naang	bird
daven	dawen	daun	leaf
hanya	hanya	jalu'	eight
hapus	hapus	soup	entirely
jari'	jari	umbot	finished (PFCT)
karing	garing		ivory
liak	riak	lujak	wave
lauk	lauk	ohcin	fish
laung	raung	duni'	dug-out coffin
likin	ringkin	konolut?	wavelet
mandui	mandui	monus	to bathe
mating	mamanting	nyahkah/muhkah	to throw
monama'	banama	(monama')	large boat
mehteh	mameteh	mara'/nanji'	to instruct, to summon
mesew	mesei	ngavus	to row
menyow	menyau	muhi'	to wash (hands, teeth)
(ngo)mujui	mambujur	ngorong/ngohinut	to straighten, to put in order
munduk	munduk	tuot	to sit
nihpuk	manipuk	noposik	to spatter with water
nitih	manitih	napih	to beat (a drum, a gong)
nokehpan	mangkepan	nyoloh	to put on (clothes)
nyakew	nyakei (Kah.)	nuhkat	to climb
pandak	pandak	ivak	short
petak	petak	tana'	earth
pinang	pinang	kahat	areca
semai	sama	havo	together
selem	selem	nyolong	to go into
tasang	tasang	torok?	chopped (meat)
tojahu'	tajahu' (Kah.)	koselan	oil
tumbang	tumbang	olung	river mouth
teneng	teneng	tonih	silent, calm
uju'	uju	pihtu'	seven
utung	untung	(utung)	luck

Table 2 : Ngaju loanwords

Some of these terms were probably introduced along with the formulas in which they most regularly appear (with a variation in the second example below):

patai pinang	pantar pinang	to chew betel
luting tojahun nyaling	runting pajahun burung	oil
utung pandak	utung pandak	misfortune

Some apparent Ngaju loans may in fact be Dohoi words whose spelling has been influenced by that of their Ngaju cognates, or modified according to usual sound correspondences between Dohoi and Ngaju (see Hudson 1967: 26): o <=> e, oi <=> ei, ow <=> au, ew <=> ei (?).

The following list (Table 3) includes words whose pronunciation is contaminated by, or mimics, Ngaju spelling in such a way. The words *pendam*, *samben*, *henjan*, for which cognates are not attested in Hardeland's Ngaju dictionary might constitute "fake" Ngaju words unwittingly invented by Uut Danum singers, or words borrowed from Ngaju at some point but since fell into disuse in common Ngaju, and retained only in the priestly language. In the case of *samben*, which actually occurs in *Basa Sangiang* (Hardeland 1859: 498), it is possible that the loan originally happened in the opposite direction, that is, from Dohoi to *Basa Sangiang*. *Samben* is glossed as the *BS* word for *saling* ("necklace"), and necklaces are traditionally made of beads and *lamiang* stones, the so-called "agate stones," which the Uut Danum call *sambon* (Hardeland 1859, see entries for *lamiang*, *saling*).

<i>Kandan</i>	Dohoi	Ngaju	
andow	ondow	andau	day
belum	bolum	belum	to live
daren	daron	daren	patterned plaitwork
deleng	dolong	dereng?	?
due'	duo'	due	two
epat	ohpat	epat	four
etang	otang	entang	carried in a sling
eteng	otong	enteng	bravery
helu'	holu'	helu	before
henjan	honjan	tangga	notched ladder
injek	tinjok	injok	touched with the finger
kotau'	kotou'	gantau	right
kuleh	kulos	kules	to turn
lehteng	lohtong	leteng	to sink
lenyuh	lonyuh	lenyuh	to melt
matew	mahtoi	matei	dead
meteng	mohtong	mameteng	to tie round
ngoripeh	ngoripos	manatap?	to pack up
notahpew	notahpoi	nantapei	to raise (hair, clothes)
pendam	pondam	kabahan	fever, sickness
samben	sambon	lamiang	oblong carnelian stone
nyokelang	nyokolang	mahelang	to be/place between
telu'	tolu'	telu	three
teluk	toluk	teluk	river bend
tende'	tondo'	tende	to stop
ulek	ulok	ulek	whirlpool

Table 3 : Original Dohoi words whose spelling is influenced by Ngaju

Kandan and *BS* share a number of words whose origin is not easily ascribed to one or the other of the mother languages. Some have a different meaning in the two genres. For instance, *bojanda*’ is glossed in *kandan* as a synonym of Dohoi *masap* “to pay visit,” while its *BS* counterpart means “to lie around, to idle.” *Umban* is glossed as “to swing” in *BS*, while it has a wider semantic range in *kandan*, including to swing, to send off, to summon, etc.

Table 4 presents a number of such shared words, some of which might correspond to archaisms shared by Dohoi and Ngaju.

<i>Kandan</i>	<i>Basa Sangiang</i>	Ngaju	Dohoi	Ngaju/Dohoi
ahui	ahui	layang	lajat	lost (astray)
bulan	bulan	bulan	bulan	“moon” = woman
bandung	bandung			boat
bojanda’	bajanda		masap	to lie around/to visit
dalaha	darah	daha	daha’	blood
ehing	ihing	tambun	lobahta’	watersnake
enun	enun	ambun	havun	cloud
haring	haring	belum	bolum	to live
hanyang	hanyang	lamiang	sambon	carnelian stone
kenyui	kenyui	atang	atang	hawk
lajung	rayung	bujang		bachelor
lakang	rangkang	ungko	oko’	old (of people)
lavew	rawei	auh	auh	word
lundung	rundung	lewu	lovu’	house
lunjan	runjan	blanga	bolanga’	heirloom jar
luting	runting	undus	koselan	oil
manjung	manjung	mandai	nuhkat	to climb
monosekan	nasekan	misek	ngisok	to ask
ngumban	(mang)umban	ayun		to swing/to swing, to send off, to invite ...
nyokiow	nangkiau	mangahau	naah	to call
nyomava’	ma(na)mbawa	mangahau	naah	to call
pongondien	pangandien	harimaung	horomaung	tiger
sali’	sali	balai	balai	guest house, house
sati’	santi	garu	(kalu’)	incense/talisman
situng	situng	haiak	sinong/havoi	all, together
tisui (tesui)	tisui	auh	auh/tuhtui	word
nisui	manisui		nuhtui	to speak
tolatang	tarantang	anak	anak	child
sihung	sihung	garing		ivory
sinow	sinau	bane	bosai	husband
tambang	tambang	pai	paa’	leg

Table 4 : Shared words

Some *kandan* words, formulas, even whole formulaic phrases, form dyadic sets which have their close counterparts in *Basa Sangiang* (Table 5).

<i>Kandan</i>	<i>Basa Sangiang</i>	
songiang/tepu'	sangiang/tempu	master (of slave)
havun/enun	ambun/enun	cloud
koselan/tojahu'	haselan/pajahun	oil
nyokiow/nyomava'	nangkiau/ma(na)mbawa	to call
tusang/tiling	nusang/niling	to go down
kandas/konasak	hakandas/hakasa	to rub/to grind
lendang koselan tingang/ luting tojahun nyaling	haselan tingang/ runtung pajahun burung (Hardeland 1858: 212)	oil
bahui tolavang/ bulow daren litung	papan talawang/ bulau dare,n lintong (Schärer 1966: 557)	flying shield
jurang juri' tingang takui balow/ liuk lipew pating bulung suping	sangkelang renteng tingang sangiang/ dengan riak bulau pating sumping (Schärer 1966: 524)	“Und es vermengen sich miteinander die Schwanzfedern (Kopfschmuck) der Tingang (Männer), der Sangiang, mit dem wellenden Gold der Zweiglein der Ohrringe (der Frauen)”
tisip deleng pomehteng penyang/ penu' ulek kinjang sangen	manyuang kumpang duhung/ penu guntu ulek benteng penang (Kuhnt-Saptodewo 1993: 107)	“Sie sind so satt, so vollgestopft wie eine Dolchscheide, in die sich der Dolch mit Mühe hineinzwängen läßt”

Table 5 : Shared dyadic sets

Finally, Table 6 lists a number of potential Dohoi loanwords in *Basa Sangiang*. Most of these terms have clear semantic connections with Dohoi cognates but no attested cognates in Ngaju. This may partially result from the fact that Hardeland's dictionary, the main source for this list, was mainly collected in the lower Kapuas area and does not accurately document all Ngaju dialects, in particular upriver dialects (e.g., Kahayan) that might have retained some of these words.

Luja actually has a Ngaju cognate, but in his translation of a priestly chant Hardeland (1858: 302) fails to acknowledge its metaphoric meaning, that of “spitting out” the spirits of the dead to send them off. This metaphoric use of *ngoluca* ' is common among the Uut Danum, including in ritual chanted invocations similar to Hardeland's published text.

Panala, although included in Baier's compilation of *Basa Sangiang* terms, actually belongs to a category of terms used for replacing taboo words (Hardeland 1859: 406). It has several cognates in Dohoi literary speech, all derived from *tala* ' (*tala* ' , *botala* ' , *tala* '-*tala* ' ,

nala’). One of the names of the river of the dead in oral literature is *Bahtang Tala’ Bulan* (literally “the river of the bright moon”).

Hinting is glossed by Hardeland, followed by Schärer, as “die Treppe, auf welcher die Sangiang von und nach dem Himmel steigen.” The same motif, prominent in *kandan* narratives, is more accurately represented as a string or rope which has a counterpart in shamanic rituals in the form of an adorned rattan string. *Hiting* has several semantically related cognates in Ngaju (*rinting*) and in Dohoi (*liting*, *titing*).

Basa Sangiang	Ngaju	Dohoi
samben	saling ‘necklace’	sambon ‘carnelian stone’
mejen	melai ‘to stay’	mohcon ‘to stay’
luja	dari ‘to run’	ngoluca’ ‘to spit on’, (fig.) ‘to send off’
sembang	sampai ‘to reach’	sombang ‘to find, to meet with’
pulang	pisau ‘knife’	pulang ‘war knife’
panala*	bulan ‘moon’	(lit.) nala’ ‘to illuminate’
panyambilei	sambil ‘left’	(kom)uloi ‘left’
nansupit	manyawut ‘to pull out’	nosohpit ‘to pull out’
sambang	‘drum’ (katambung)	sambang ‘flare’?
hinting	‘stairs’	hiting ‘ritual string’
haselan	undus ‘oil’	koselan ‘oil’
mengan	hamburung ‘to hunt for birds’	mongan ‘to blowpipe hunt’
ganggarang	nyahu ‘thunder’	kokorang ‘thunder’
manentang	mamala ‘to be visible’	notang ‘to shine, be clear’ (Inagaki 2008)

Table 6 : Potential Dohoi loanwords in *Basa Sangiang*

3. THE STYLE : *KANDAN* AND *TAHTUM*

It is now clear that *kandan* as a verbal genre is formulaic in the sense that formulas constitute its basic units of composition. The second principle of *kandan* composition is parallelism (Fox 2005), that is, the regular pairing of formulaic phrases (or second-order formulas) to produce larger units of narration. In *timang* shamanic chanting, with its clearly demarcated and rhythmically measured lines, parallel segments typically occur in successive lines:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>hotopihtu’ nusang jalin tingang</i> | seven times (they) lower the fingers |
| 2. <i>hotohanya’ ngunjung tendung bulung</i> | eight times (they) raise the hand(?) |

However, the grouping of formulaic segments is affected by the rhythmic/melodic pattern (*locut*) of the singing. Some *locut* allow to produce longer lines which encompass a pair of parallel segments:

ngehtu’ utang kalung tingang nehpas lauk nanduk pulang
(they) slit the chickens, slash the cows

The two segments of a pair usually express the same idea (eating together in the first example, killing sacrificial animals in the second). Beside such synonymy at the level of segments, other relationships of semantic complementarity are found between the component words of each segment (seven/eight, lower/raise, hornbill/bird, finger/hand?, in the first example above). *Basa Sangiang* is similarly structured (Kuhnt-Saptodewo 1999).

Some additional features of the *kandan* style can be highlighted by a comparison with *parung* and *tahtum*. The primary requirement for composing in *parung* or *tahtum* is rhyme (*torutung*). A verse is acceptable as long as it includes one or several internal rhymes.

Havun no' nimang ihkam tepun kupang ngindoi tarang bulan jo' hila' diang

“Tomorrow again I will besing you, owner of the shield (=Bungai), when the moon shines above”

Eam hombu' ku' nuhtui lovu' Pulow Bunu' paras orih noh timang tihth.

“I do not bespeak any longer the village of the Murder, so far for my song.”

It is often possible to break down the narrative flow, that of *tahtum* particularly, into groups of four words, and often of eight syllables, linked by an internal rhyme, in which the essential ideas of the verse are expressed:

<i>Havun nimang Tepun Kupang</i>	tomorrow sing owner shield
<i>Ngindoi tarang bulan diang</i>	when bright moon above
<i>nuhtui lovu' Pulow Bunu'</i>	tell village island murder
<i>Paras orih timang tihth.</i>	till here song song

This characteristic of the prosody sheds a light on an essential aspect of the formulaic style of *tahtum*. *Tahtum* nominal formulas (*tomalik*), including the pseudonyms or titles (*kelan*) by which characters are named, as well as place names, often comprise of three words – or six syllables – with a rhyme between the first and the third.

bahtang luting jalang: spear (lunju')
 boang tosak asang: patterned sunhat (takui daro')
 tihkang dolong ponang: leg (paa')
 bujon nohkan Acon: Sangen (name of character)
 patai danum lendai: Kahayan river
 lovu' Pulow Bunu': village of Pojangew (Pajangei)

Such formulas, hundreds of which are memorized by singers, provide ready-made rhymed units which can be completed at will with a verb (or another word category) to produce a verse or segment of verse: “*nuhtui [lovu' Pulow Bunu']*.” Some passages of *tahtum* songs corresponding to often visited themes are entirely delivered in verses which strictly comply to this pattern.

A tendency to structure sentences around groups of four words or eight syllables can also be observed in *kandan*, although maybe to a lesser degree than in *tahtum*. What mainly differentiates the two genres is the higher recourse of *kandan* to parallelism and of *tahtum* to rhyme. Although three-word rhyming formulas, some of which appear to be shared with *tahtum*, are frequent in *kandan*, rhyme is not a requisite of versification in *kandan*. A partial explanation for this difference may reside in differing conditions of text production and apprenticeship. The *tahtum* singer is a creator/composer, in the sense of Milmann Parry's and Albert Lord's Oral Theory (Lord 1960), who critically relies on memorized formulas to produce his song in the moment he performs it. Rhyme is useful as a mnemonic device

allowing the singer to learn and quickly mobilize a large number of formulas, and more generally as a technique of composition. In particular, it enables the singer to add rhymed segments at the end of a verse if he needs time to prepare the next one. Although *kandan* composition is also essentially formulaic, the conditions of the performance, at least in the case of *timang*, each verse of which is repeated twice, may make it easier to recall complex unrhymed formulas. The more systematic use of parallelism by *kandan* may also have a signification in this respect.

To conclude this section, I present excerpts of songs and invocations which exemplify how a given narrative theme is differently treated by *kandan* on the one hand, and by *tahtum* or *parung*, on the other. The first example concerns the so-called “straighthening-up langsung tree” (*lihat mohpit*), which stands across the way to the land of the dead, moving alternatively up and down to prevent passage. The *parung ngitot liow*, a chant in the *parung* style performed to accompany the spirits of the dead to the afterworld, narrates the crossing of this obstacle by the newly departed spirit trying to obtain entry in the afterworld. The motif is also mentioned in the chants performed during some shamanic rituals concerned with rescuing a patient's soul, in order this time to call back the soul of a living person from the land of the dead where it might have gone astray. In the following examples, square brackets are used to highlight groupings of four words/eight syllables; parallel lines are marked by “>”, “>>”, “>>>”; numbers 1 and 2 are used to mark synonymous lines in the translation (see Metcalf 1989).

Theme 1: The straighthening-up langsung tree

a. *Parung ngitot liow*

...[erih boro'] docok luting laut nyaling
 ...you reach the (river of the dead)
 nyihing tovit lihat mohpit
 attain the straighthening-up langsung tree,
 [erih kohamang boro'] pongeran tahpew tuhan
 swiftly the two of you, Bungai...
 lunuk nasai lating leai
 ... and Tambun
 [erih jo'] nyohpit pulang [boro'] nakui sambang
 pull your war knives
 nohtos tovit lihat mohpit
 cut the straighthening-up langsung tree
 sonopirang [boro'] dolong diang...
 slash an upper branch(?)

b. *Timang*

... nyokiow [ka'] etang [jo'] haja-hajang >
 ... you also call the lost souls 1
 tehkan tavai lihat mohpit >>
 from the straightening-up langsung tree
 nyomava' samben [jo'] ahui-ahui >
 call the lost souls 2
 tehkan lundung inai palai henda' >>
 from the house of Mother Palai Henda'
 nyokiow [ka'] etang [jo'] haja-hajang >

call the lost soul 1

nyomava' samben [jo'] ahui-ahui >

call the lost soul 2

tehkan tusut tana' dalai... >>

from the collapsing hill...

a.

... erih boro' docok luting laut nyaling

so 'you two' to arrive [oil sea spirits]* *[: formula]

"The two of you reach the sea of spirits (= the afterworld of the dead),"

nyihing tovit lihat mohpit

to go past [treetop? langsung tree to straighten up]

"go past the straightening-up langsung tree,"

erih [ho]kohamang boro' pongeran tahpew tuhan, lunuk nasai lating leai

so to compete in speed 'you two' [pseudonym for Bungai] [pseudonym for Tambun, "who walks on the silver landing raft"]

"Swiftly the two of you, Bungai and Tambun,"

erih jo' nyohpit pulang boro' nakui sambang

so REL to pull [war knife ('you two') wear a hat flared?]

"pull your war knives,"

nohtos tovit lihat mohpit

to cut [straightening-up langsung tree]

"cut the straightening-up langsung tree"

sonopirang boro' dolong diang...

PASS.slash upward 'you two' obstacle± above

"slash an upper branch(?)"

b.

... nyokiow ka' etang jo' haja-hajang

naah ka' morua' jo' lajat

to call also soul REL lost (astray)

"(You) also call the lost souls"

tehkan tavai lihat mohpit

tahkan tavai [lihat mohpit]

from river-bordering

vegetation

"from the straightening-up langsung tree,"

nyomava' samben jo' ahui-ahui

to call soul REL lost (astray)

"call the lost souls"

tehkan lundung inai palai henda'

tahkan lovu' [inai palai henda']

from house mother (plant part) curcuma

"from the house of Mother Palai Henda"

nyokiow ka' etang jo' haja-hajang
“also call the lost souls”

nyomava' samben jo' ahui-ahui
“call the lost souls”

tehkan tusut tana' dalai
tahkan [tusut tana' dala'3RD]
from to crumble earth dissolved
“from the collapsing hill”...

Theme 2: Up to the sky across layers of clouds

The second theme, shared by *kandan* and *tahtum*, describes an ascension to the sky through successive layers of clouds. Some of these clouds are named after the cries of familiar animals, from the cock's crow, to the gibbon's scream, the hornbill's roar, up to the abode of a female hawk located at the entrance of the sky.

a. *Tahtum*

... [ki] *turus ngahtang anak atang*
[umba'] *ari' Lambang nokuh diang,*
[erih jo' nai] *daiw hindai [poh] nulo' Bungai,*
norus havun pihtu' nurun,
umbot havun kukuk tondun anu' [=manuk],*
kavui havun kuak acun,
umbot havun kuak acun,
havun nyorian ondow ucan,
ang konuan tepun lunjan tavai pandan daiw anan...

... the young hawk
takes further up Lambang's younger cousin,
the orphan Bungai,
breaks through seven layers of clouds,
(first) the cloud of the cock's crow,
then the cloud of the gibbon's scream,
after the cloud of the gibbon's scream,
the clouds changing into rain,
(this is) done by the owner of the precious jar...

* *anu'* (“uh”) here replaces the word *manuk* (“chicken, cock”), which must be the name of one of the singer's in-laws of ascending generation.

b. *Kandan* (ritual solo chanting)

... *horolusan lajung tavui [jo'] mesew*
monyoreling telun hiting >
ngakai uhak do-bolamban >
monyohalow havun kukuk utang sendung >>
nyolakah havun kuak acun >>

monyohalow havun sokohang acah bavin tingang >>
botikow sali' inai Solopendi >>>
botala' balai bavin acah...>>>

... the spirit of scattered rice goes on paddling
along the (celestial) thread 1,
along the (celestial) thread 2,
goes by the cloud of the cock's crow,
goes past the cloud of the gibbon's scream,
goes by the cloud of the hornbill's roar,
the house of Solopendi's mother glitters,
the house of *bavin acah* [a heavenly shaman] shines...

4. LANGUAGE INTERPLAY IN SHAMANIC POSSESSION

To end, let us turn to the context in which *kandan* actually becomes a “language of spirits” (*auh songiang*). During shamanic possession rites, the spirits which have been invoked during chanting sessions come down to possess shamans (*jaja*’) and perform curing and other acts similar to those described in the chants. Several *songiang* usually descend in turn into the *jaja*’ in the course of a séance, introducing themselves with *kandan* formulas indicating their name and/or place of origin. The shaman's assistants or other women of the audience act as intermediaries between the spirits and the audience, conversing with the former and forwarding their demands to the people in charge of the ritual. One *songiang* asks for a “betel quid” (*patai pinang*), another requests a “chicken” (*kalung tingang*), “husked rice” (*behas nyangen tingang*), “oil” to rub their head with, a “plucked-lute” or a “drum” to dance, etc. These demands are greeted with conventional formulas to ask the spirits to wait while people scramble to bring the required objects:

“*hokolendai!*”: “be patient!” (D. *danda-dandah*)

“*honong bolajai!*”: “we are still searching (for it)” (D. *honong ngurah*).

These preliminary exchanges and others occurring later in connection with the performance of ritual acts (curing, soul retrieval, sacrifices, prayers, etc.) are typically conducted in *kandan*. The women intermediaries translate any important information mentioned in the *songiang*’s chant – an explanation about the origin of a patient’s suffering, a recommendation about taboos to be respected by the patient in the future, a new request by the *songiang* – for the benefit of the audience. At one point, usually soon before announcing their departure and being succeeded by another spirit, the *songiang* may shift to ordinary language to engage in an unmediated conversation with the audience. Communication then often takes on a ludic turn. This shift to Dohoi allows to communicate more easily and without the restrictions of a formalized genre, but the fiction, not only of the presence of the *songiang* (*they* talk), but of their foreignness (*kandan* is *their* language) has to be maintained. Language is indeed an identity marker for the categories of spirits involved in shamanic possession, so that for instance spirits from the sea regions (*ulun laut*) will talk in Indonesian, and Kahayan spirits in Ngaju. The *songiang*, which are first and foremost spirits from the upperworld (*ulun langit*, *ulun diang*), conceived of as a parallel society of superhuman beings, cannot speak Dohoi the way the Uut Danum do.

This sense of foreignness, or of an innocent unwordliness of the *songiang*, is conveyed by several characteristics of their speech. First, they talk with a gentle, childlike, often nasalized

voice (Herrmans [2011: 62] observes a similar phenomenon about Bentian spirit possession). This intonation is used for instance in the following sentence, uttered by a newly arrived *songiang* which pretends not to know why he has been called down (note that it includes a *kandan* formula, *likun andow*, which is a metonymic designation for the people attending the ritual):

“Anyu’, inon ke naing ki ti ko’, kisok uong uras naing kekai, inon jo’ konuan likun andow, earo’ ulun taso’ nanji’ ?”

Which, freely translated, means:

“Say, what is this about – sorry for asking stupid questions – what are the people under the daylight up to? No one has summoned us.”

Second, they often hesitate, ask for the right Dohoi words; utter unusual exclamations (“*nia nia nia nia nia*!”) or high-pitched little screams; deform words by changing a sound in them: e.g., *anyu’* for *anu’* (“uh, say”), *nyu’* for *nu’* (2nd S. poss.), *ana’* for *ara’* (“don’t”) *bokona’* for *bokena’* (“handsome”), *pacanan* for *pacaran* (Ind., flirting), *bolop* for *kolop* (“tortoise”), etc. In the following exchange, a *songiang* asks the Dohoi word for tortoise, whose *tomalik* in *kandan* is *lauk topelung bulan*, in order to suggest to the ritual’s sponsor that he should taboo this food in the future:

S – Yes, and what do you people under the daylight say for *lauk topelung bulan* ? We say : [with both /l and /k overly nasalized] “*ngolop*”.

Audience, in chorus – *Kolop* !

S – *Bolop* ?

Audience – *Ko-lop* !

S – Yes indeed. Pon’t (*ana’*) you eat it, alright ?

The sponsor – But it is sweet! ...

Some mispronounced words or language errors create puns which trigger the audience’s laughs, especially if they have an obscene connotation. The fact that Uut Danum shamans are women is meaningful in this regard, since several of these jokes concern the male genital parts. For instance, a *songiang* wants to request the sacrifice of a fat castrated pig, but instead of saying: “Do not choose one with testicles” (*tutang lahtak*), s/he says: “Do not choose one with *your* testicles” (*tutang lahtakmu*). Another *songiang* announces that s/he and their company are about to leave. Mispronouncing the verb *buli’* (“to return”) for *bula’* (“penis”), s/he actually says:

Anu’, kani’ bula’ ihkai pahari’!

“Well, we want penis, cousin !”

To what another *songiang* (possessing another medium) replies: *Havoi kani’ bula’* – “We too want penis.”

Another characteristic of *songiang*'s speech – and behavior, more generally – is inversion, which is a common feature of spirit talk in Borneo. Inversion occurs in many forms, including the inappropriate use of time adverbs and terms of address, or nonsensical sentences like:

“Anu’, haus ekai. Doooooni’ macu’ unuk ekai!”

“Uh, we are thirsty. We have come a shooooort long way!”

For this reason, when addressing the *songiang*, people may say the contrary of what they really mean. For instance, to encourage a spirit to treat a patient thoroughly, which is done by removing invisible particles from the surface of the patient’s body, a woman intermediary may say: “ara’ tii-tiih!” (ara’ “don’t”, tii-tiih “finished”).

Kandan is a sung genre rarely heard in spoken form. When quoting from *kandan* in a conversation, women typically adopt a declamatory intonation which marks off the quoted words, in the same manner as we utter the words: “quote... unquote.” As a rule, possessed shamans either *sing* in *kandan* or *talk* in Dohoi. Occasionally, however, the *songiang* guests may address their human interlocutors directly in *kandan*, or in a mix of *kandan* and Dohoi, as if the latter were upperworld spirits, thus momentarily blurring the linguistic and ontological boundary separating them. After one or two sentences like the following one, in which a *songiang* tells to the ritual’s sponsor what animals should be sacrificed later during the ritual, the shaman resumes chanting.

“Helu’, ngehtu’ kalung tingang... umbot ngehtu’ kalung tingang, kavun nehpas ahtah tujang,
holu’ [munu’ manuk]* umbot [munu’ manuk] kavun [munu’ urak]
ngehtu’ lauk nanduk pulang:”
[munu’ sahpi’] * [...]: formulas

“First, you kill the chickens... once you have killed the chickens, you kill the pigs, you kill the cows.”

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